512 [514] on the ground in the position known by the name "aztec"—on their knees, the legs and feet flat on their inner side and the buttocks resting on the heels. Or else they cut, polish and file beads from nutshells or sea shells, earrings or other ornaments. And if the work bores them, they pick the lice from one another, stroll around or sleep.

512 521 During the warmest hours the camp is silent. The inhabitants, silent or asleep, enjoy the uncertain shade of the shelter. The rest of the time, the occupations are carried on with animated conversations. Nearly always gay and laughing, the Indians exchange jokes, and sometimes, with unmistakable gestures, obscene or scatological accounts which are greeted with great shouts of laughter. The work is often interrupted by mutual visits or questions; when two dogs or birds copulate, everybody stops and contemplates the operation with fascinated interest; then work is taken up again, after an exchange of commentaries about this important happening.

512 The children lounge around during a great part of the day, the girls surrendering themselves at times to the same jobs as their elders, the boys idle or fishing along a stream of water. The men remaining in camp dedicate themselves to basketwork, making arrows and musical instruments, and sometimes to performing some small domestic service. Complete accord usually reigns within the household. Toward three or four o'clock, the other men return from the hunt, the camp becomes animated, the conversation becomes livelier, groups form, different from family agglomerations. They eat yucca cakes and everything found during the day: fish, roots, wild honey, bats, little animals captured, and small sweet nuts from the palm bacaiuva (Acrocomia sp.). Sometimes a child begins to cry, quickly consoled by an elder. When night falls some women, chosen daily, go to collect or cut down in the neighboring woods the sure of wood for the [17] night. They can be seen returning in the twilight, staggering under the load which pulls the tumpline used for carrying it. To unload, they crouch and lean backwards a little, letting their bundle of bamboo rest on the ground in order to disengage the tumpline from their forehead.

512 In a corner of the camp the branches are amassed and each one supplies himself in proportion to his needs. The family groups form around their respective fires which begin to glow. The evening is passed in conversation, or else in singing and dancing. Sometimes these distractions are prolonged far into the night, but in general, after some amusements of caressing and friendly fighting, the couples draw closer together, the mothers clutch their sleeping infants to them, everything becomes silent, and the cold night is

593 of the couple among the Nambikwara. It is the economic and psycho-
593 logical unit par excellence. Not only among errant bands which are
182 made and unmade unceasingly does the couple appear as the only
462 stable reality (at least theoretically), but it is the couple alone which assures the subsistence of the members of the group. The Nambikwara live under a double economy: the economy of hunters and gardeners on one hand, the economy of collectors and gatherers on the other. The first is assured by the man, the second by the woman. While the masculine group departs for a whole day to hunt, armed with bows and arrows, or works in the gardens during the rainy season, the women, armed with digging implements, wander with their children across the plain, and gather, pull out, pick, capture, seize [55] everything on their route that is worthy of serving as food: grain, fruits, berries, roots, tubers, eggs, small animals of all sorts. At the end of the day, the couple meets around the fire. When the manioc
[253] is ripe, and as long as it remains so, the man brings a bundle of roots which the women pound and press to make a kind of pancake (uridnoom, al), and when the hunt has been fruitful, they rapidly cook pieces of small animals by burying them under the burning cinders of the family fire. But for seven months of the year, manioc is rare. As for the hunt, it is most often a matter of chance in these sterile lands
[137] where a skinny small animal hardly ever leaves the shade, and the pasture lands at the heads of rivers are separated from one another by considerable stretches of semi-desert brush. Thus, the family
[24] must most often subsist on the collection of the women. Very often we have attended (and sometimes shared) these diabolical doll-size snacks which, for the Nambikwara, for half the year, are the only hope of not dying of hunger. When the man, silent and fatigued, re-
• [262] turns to camp and throws his bow and arrows which he could not use to one side, from the basket of the woman is extracted an extraordinary and moving collection: some orange fruit from the buriti palm (e?ztu, al, c?z?nde, bl, ?ola, c), two fat poisonous spiders (kuraltu, al, kt??nde, bl), some tiny lizards' eggs and some of these animals (kat?terisu, al, nagãle, bl, tailtue, c), a bar, some small nuts from the bacaiuva palm (arookoom, al, kh?ninde, bl), or anguanu (arodikisu, al), a handful of grasshoppers (takedaln, al tagere,
[253] bl, tadld, c). The pulpy fruits are crushed with the hands in a calabash filled with water, the nuts cracked with the blows of a stone, the animals and larvae buried pell-mell in the coals; and this repast is gaily devoured, a meal which would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger of a white person, but which feeds a family here.

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601

sense of this term remains doubtful. And it has never been possible, in the course of the questions on kinship, to obtain from polygamous husbands discriminating terms for each of their wives.

595 established between the first wife and the new arrivals. The first
862 wife takes care of her children and devotes herself to the cares of
[252 the household, shredding the manioc and cooking the cumaru nuts.
● 263 She is occupied with feminine craft tasks. In short, she carries on her activities within the [61] limits of the sexual division of labor. The other wives aid her occasionally, but their main duty seems to be to assist their husband in his masculine tasks. They are comrades and collaborators who, in the general plan of the division of labor, could be more justifiably classed with the men. Their aid seems like a method on the part of the chief of the group to fulfill his heavy duties more easily, and like a psychological compensation for his responsibilities. When he leaves on a hunting or reconnoitering expedition, one of his polygamous wives accompanies him to hold his arrows and to carry in her basket the eventual prize. When he works around the camp or in the village, it is with their aid and com-
[515 pany. Although men and women do not bathe at the same time, one sometimes sees the husband and his polygamous wives take a bath together, the pretext for great struggles in the water, and innumerable
[332 jokes. In the evening he plays with them, either amorously, rolling
529 in the sand embracing two, three or four, or in a childlike way. For example A1, a3 and a4, stretched out on their backs, by way of making a star with three points on the ground, raise their feet in the air and knock them against one another, bottom of foot against bottom of foot, in a regular rythm (this game is described by the term eriéng(kitim, al).

595 The polygamous union is thus presented as a super-imposition
152 of a plural form of amorous companionship on the monogamous marriage, and at the same time, we insist, as an attribute of command with a functional value from the psychological point of view as well as from the economic. The women usually live on very good terms, and although the first wife has a role that might seem a little unappreciated, working while the bears at her side the bursts of laughter of her husband and of his little mistresses, and sometimes even witnesses more tender frolicking, she does not show either bitterness or jealousy. In fact, this distribution of roles is not either unchangeable or rigorous, and, upon occasion, although rarely, the

857 b6, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nãingnãghẽẽ nãnãtẽguẽdne (b1)

Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
[55] most all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[1]

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[229] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
● 262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehêna ulʼtu ulʼkwage, "the woman caresses the baby," or ulʼoutʼtu ulʼkwage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the woman's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them
231 receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
521 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation, they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [from the children.--Ed.]

and even for carrying could pass. The provisions of manioc proved to be insufficient and one morning the little band found itself without anything to eat. Our own attempts to kill some animal were in vain, and the worst [88] bad humor began to reign, the chief of the group being obviously held responsible for an affair which we, he and I, had contrived. In place of undertaking a hunting or collecting expedition, each one decided to go to sleep in the shade of shelters, and they left the chief alone to find the solution to the problem. He disappeared, accompanied by one of his wives (his first wife a2, contrary to usual procedure; but a3 and a4 shared the general irritation) and toward evening both were seen reappearing, their heavy baskets filled with grasshoppers which they had spent the entire day catching. Although grasshopper pie is not a particularly esteemed dish, everyone ate with good appetite and found his good humor again. They took up the journey again the next morning.

But other things than these exceptional relief measures are expected of the chief. He must sing and dance willingly and well, and be capable of animating the collective life. He must organize the work in the most reasonable way in order to eliminate useless fatigue and effort. Thus on the eve of a departure, B1 recites for us his order of march:

30. mãdkrige mãdohãdhoine hajtehãdige nãnjehaile gietnoonãhara jeoohara kanahaol'hdeere hinkynaha iinãmnje ãheena iinãmnje ihihero ihihero. (b1)
When it is hot, one is tired, one is hungry, the children walk badly; when one marches at dawn, one marches well, at dawn, one should march, change routes, march; on the way! on the way!

He must also win over his companions by numerous gifts. According to B1, who gives in willingly to the servitude of power, generosity plays a fundamental role in determining the degree of popularity which the new chief will enjoy, and the companions indulge in all sorts of speculations:

31. ulihã ahãni ãjoine nunã'ãnunyulihã agnãhare nunãjani (b-1)
The chief is leaving; the one who will come will give me a great deal. --"Chief! Be generous! Give to me!"

The presents thus anticipated consist of food or objects which the chief will have made himself with the assistance of his polygamous wives, or that he will have procured by good exchanges with neighboring bands, or which might come from war booty. Often, it seems,

1: Lévi-Strauss--115 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THEORY OF DEATH

761
775 [100] Death distinguishes between men on one hand, women and children on the other. When they die, the former are transformed into jaguars who represent, consequently, so many reincarnated humans. The women and children, on the other hand, disappear with the wind and the storm and are not susceptible to any reappearance.

40. dend' dütige petnantüna ednadüge lukuñ'ndige ndakuñ'ndige mokañkiadukuñ'ndige dend' dütige monüge lütüge amototiñ'tige toyodütige uitendige (b1)
The woman and child who die do not change into beasts. The man who dies is changed into a jaguar, the woman who dies goes away with the tempest disappears with the storm.

262 Whence, among the Nambikwara, the only perfectly clear prohibition concerning food. Theoretically several exist, broken each time that the occasion is presented, such as those concerning the hawk, the worms from the bacaiuva nuts, and there may be added a probable repugnance concerning the meat of the veado (Cervus sp.). Chickens and dogs are never eaten, but their introduction is recent. On the other hand, the jaguar can be hunted and killed, and its remains are highly regarded since the hide is used to make the fur bonnets worn in the attire of war; but it is not eaten under any pretext:

41. [following preceding text] loukuñ'ndige inkara uñtige lotañtige ikuitüdige nüñtige (b1)
775 [the dead man] becomes a jaguar, another eats him, the jaguar carries him off, he is left to another in order to eat him.

This theory complements the information collected in the eastern group more than it differs from it. The jaguar in fact plays the same role as the atatu, it also carries off the dying. But the central theory adds a complement. This is that the deceased is identified with the animal, who thus becomes a supernatural being. It was not possible to find out if the atatu which one meets at night are considered to be the souls of reincarnated dead people. (1)

776
171 1. One recognizes in the man-eating jaguar gifted with a supernatural nature a typically Tupi theme, although its present diffusion is much greater. See concerning this subject, Métraux, loc. cit., passim.

and Nimuendaju, "Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocuva Guarani," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin, XLVI, 1914. Also, the atsiu in question in the preceding paragraph, curiously evoke the yurupari, or ananga, ancient Tupi genies of the bush against which they defend themselves with a flaming torch which thus plays the same role as the magic javelin (cf. Thevet, cited by Métraux, loc. cit., p. 61). Finally, the atsiu itself often appears in the form of the jaguar; and in the eastern groups at least, it plays the role of the Messenger of Death which the central, southern, and northern groups give over to the jaguar. There is thus in the vocabulary, a close connection between the stars, the jaguar and the atsiu, already noted by Claude d'Abbeville (cited by Métraux, l. c., p. 49) among the Tupinamba: these identified the jaguar with the stars. Like the "celestial" jaguar (Montoya), the "man-eating" (Nimuendaju), the jaguar of the Nambikwara presents a remarkable ambivalence: it is sacred, and at the same time, they kill it. Finally, comparative linguistics confirms the connection. The term which means jaguar in dialect a1, inaĩru is associated with the name of the jaguar among the central and southern Tupi: yaouare (Emerillon, Coudreau); saoruba (Guajajara, Nimuendaju); jaoaroba (Tapirapé, Kissenberth).

[101] COMMUNICATION WITH A SUPERNATURAL WORLD: SHAMANISM

It is considered possible to receive visions of far-distant things and revelations of future happenings. These supernatural communications are usually produced upon the occasion of tempests and storms. They are sudden and unforeseen. Every adult male is apt to receive them, for in this case too, the women (except, it seems, the elders) are excluded from the spiritual life:

42. iaĩdãdni dẽhũ tamãmatsĩani nahoe ejãhi ekaĩeni kanahãdãu natĩi ajãgaagatĩhemete (b1)
Invisible to women the men see it [the thunder]: "Far away I see, close by I see, tomorrow it will arrive, very near it will arrive."
(It is a question here of a warning vision of messengers come from another tribe).

American Indians. As example of the first aspect we shall mention: the public and "scientific" preparation of the curare; the development of certain therapeutics such as the treatment of ophthalmia by instillation; the flexibility of the sexual division of labor; sexual life in general; the atmosphere of the rites of abstinence; the rational attitude as regards alimentary taboos. Several remarks on this point will make clear the indigenous psychology. The white worms (anadu, a1) which are frequently found in the nuts of the bacaiuva palm have been indicated as being inedible. Subsequently we verified that they were eaten in secret by the children. Thus a8 finds them while cracking nuts and gives them to her little sister a9; and furtively she too eats a worm. Her action is noticed by a3 and a4 who cover her with sarcasm. However one day when food is scarce, A1 eats a plate of worms which his young wife a4 has gathered for him, and sadly remarks that, due to lack of meat, he is reduced to this poor fare. The same observation is made about the hawk. Above we showed what constitutes the metaphysical basis of the alimentary taboo concerning the jaguar. However, the current interpretation is entirely different:

66. ajatedekiga? gilige (b1).
I don't eat any of it, it smells bad!

In the face of new situations, the Indians generally react without mysticism. Thus, A1 before the problem of writing: (1) on the other hand,

1. P. 40 f. and p. 89.

the Nambikwara show total indifference toward photography, even when they have understood its purpose. We have never found [126] Indians who tolerated the participation of the camera in the slightest details of their intimate life with such complete indifference.

However, the passage to irrational positions is made with the same brusqueness which characterizes the two attitudes, almost simultaneous, of so infant hilarity before the still unusual sight of an inflated balloon which burns, and of an appeal to evil magic when a second balloon succeeded in rising. (1) Never does the tender indulgence with which the men surround

1. P. 97.

their companions (2) allow one to suspect the actual metaphysical curse

2. P. 58 f.

with which the women are burdened in the Nambikwara culture, excluded under pain of death from collective ceremonies, deaf and blind to the voice

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

622 and to meet groups too shy to venture forth on the outer fringe. The native band and my own group set out together on a journey supposed to be short; but, because of the animals I had taken, the chief had decided that the usual route through a dense forest could not be used. He led us through the open country, lost his way several times, and we did not reach our destination on the scheduled day. Supplies were exhausted and no game was in sight. The not unfamiliar prospect of a foodless day fell gloomily upon the natives. But, this time, it was the chief's responsibility. The whole project was his own, as well as the attempt to find an easier route. So, instead of trying to discover food, the hungry natives simply lay down in the shadow of the brush and waited for their leader to take them out of this most unpleasant situation. He did not wait or discuss; but, taking the incident as a matter of course, he simply left the camp accompanied by one of his wives. At the camp, the day was spent sleeping, gossiping and complaining. There was no lunch or dinner. But, late at dusk, the chief and his wife reappeared, both heavily laden with baskets filled to the [262] brim. They had hunted grasshoppers the entire day, and, although the expression "to eat grasshoppers" has approximately the same meaning in Nambikuara as the French *manger de la vache enragée*,[1] this food was enthusiastically received, shared and consumed, amidst restored good humor. The following morning, everybody armed himself or herself with a leafless twig and went grasshopper-hunting.

622 595 I have several times referred to the chief's wives. Polygamy, which is practically the chief's privilege, brings him a moral and sentimental reward for his heavy duties together with the practical means of fulfilling them. In the Nambikuara band, apart from rare exceptions, only the chief and the sorcerer (when these functions are divided between two individuals) may have several wives. The chief's polygamy, however, presents special features. It does not constitute a plural marriage but rather a monogamous marriage to which relations of a different nature are added. I have already mentioned the fact that cross-cousin marriage is the usual pattern among the Nambikuara. Another type of marriage also exists, between a man and a woman belonging to the generation following his own, either a wife's "daughter" (true or classificatory) or a sister's niece. Both forms are not uncommon in South America and, together or separately, they have been re-

[1] Closest English equivalent: "to have a rough time of it, to go through the mill."

226 headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes 262 reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.

132 The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Utiarity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena [131 143] 685 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 80° to 85° F. During this [32 221] period the grass withers, the livestock of the white men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, particularly, suffer during these months. In August [228] the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

[305] The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwéndire*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, cumbarú beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season 305 (*wahóro*) is divided into periods depending upon 221 the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *pahíhoro*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *ya'ennáhiro*, for during these months the bocaiba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *ólere*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *enóro*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *dzoqueháro*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

361 Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands
621 has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

½ - A fish poison - A] [p. 87 (A)] ½ [See cat. #6, pp. 124-126. - Analyst]

The Wakitisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Parecsi in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakitisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[142 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
458 baby strapped on her hip, an older child following
her. As they move slowly along they collect
222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them
[252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
262 These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten
223 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
222 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near
[344] enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally
[177] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

252 placed on a platform under which a fire is lighted. In this manner large quantities of *kinakápare* can be prepared in one day.

When a woman gets ready to bake a manioc cake she pushes the hot coals and burning wood to one side and pats down the hot bed of the fire with a flat piece of wood. She then breaks off pieces from a dried manioc loaf and crumbles them over the bed of the fire by rubbing them in her hands. When she has crumbled up enough dry manioc, she pats down the flour to form a round, flat cake about 10 inches in diameter and from 1 to 2 inches in thickness. She covers the cake first with hot ashes and then hot coals. After one-half hour she uncovers her oven to find a brown cake covered with ashes and cinders. This sour, dirty, gritty product in no way compares with the fine-textured, sweet manyé of the Camayurá, the meal for which is prepared by crushing the dry ball in a mortar, then sifted to remove the rough fibers, after which the flour is dampened and baked on a pottery baking plate. Sometimes the whole manioc loaf is placed in the fire, and as it bakes the Nambicuara begin to break off pieces from the outside. For ceremonial purposes they bake cakes about 2 feet in diameter.

241 Toward the end of the rains in April and May the Nambicuara return to their fields to enjoy the fresh garden products. The harvest is inaugurated with a harvest ceremony (*koikáeal-tásiro*). [262] [252] Fresh maize, peanuts, and sweetpotatoes are roasted, manioc cakes are prepared, and, if possible, manioc juice is boiled to make chicha. These garden products, along with meat, supply the food for the feast, which lasts for several days. [534] The sacred flutes (*watárika*) are played in the flute hut, the spirits of the ancestors are present, and food and drink are offered to them.

221 The subsistence activities of the Nambicuara are, thus, closely associated with the annual cycle of growth in which agriculture forms but a part. The dependence of the Nambicuara upon the wild products of the forest and plateau are much more complex than has been indicated. They supplied long lists of names of plants, insects, and animals for which no Portuguese names could be found. A full understanding of their economic dependence upon the environment would come only by someone following a band of Nambicuara throughout the year to observe the complete annual cycle of

[p. 92(N)]

221 subsistence activities. For instance, they say that they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A favorite dish is to crush in a mortar maguioc cakes [262] with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts, [252] monkey and bird bones.

824 As an example of the variety of uses to which the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the [262] buriti palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding [283] the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fibers from the new growth to make twine. (3) They use the tough, flexible center of the frond stalk for making baskets. (4) They fell the buriti so [262] that a certain variety of grub can collect and multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the tree. The grubs or larvae they then eat uncooked. [501] (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition, the buriti palm has male associations, for only [766] men can prepare its products. When a male child dies a piece of buriti fiber is left over his grave.

372 The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method. They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick loosens into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buriti fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

412 The material equipment of the Eastern Nam-
415 bicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands, and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small grater and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the woman carries

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Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Shenbiaowen name
Batata		Ipomoea batatas	Chuanlongshu
Tabaco para gente de India	Tobacco for aborigines		Yanhuo
Tabaco para India matta	Tobacco for wood fire		Yanhuo
Tabaco para pangim	Tobacco for pangim		Yanhuo
Tomate		Lycopersicum lycopersicum	Fanqiezi

PLANTS USED FOR DRUGS AND POISON

278

Tabaco		Nicotiana tabacum	Yanhuo

PLANTS USED OF VARIOUS DIFFERENT USES

137
624

Linho			Yanhuo
Batata			Yanhuo

MINERAL PLANTS

[265]

Pimenta			Lanjiaojiao

ANIMALS KEPT FOR FOOD*

136
262
825

Asno	Tuch	Equus hemionus	Lüzhou
Animale	Ovec	Ovis aries	Yang
Bugio		Macaca mulatta	Hou
Cabrito	Pussey	Capra hircus	Yangzi
Camaleão	Kinin	Varanus salvator	Kuilong
Cachorro	Cayrhem	Canis familiaris	Quan
Cavallo	Cuall	Equus caballus	Ma
Cobra	Kobra	Naja naja	Yanjing
Coelho		Lepus sinensis	Tuzi
Cabra		Capra hircus	Yangzi
Agoutinha		Felis pardalis delicatus	Lanmaozhuo
Lontra	Otter	Lutra perspicillata	Shuigoulong
Macaco grego	Monkey	Cebus apella	Hou
Onça parda	Brown panther	Felis concolor	Lanmaozhuo
Onça pintada	Jaguar	Felis onca	Lanmaozhuo
Ostra		Ostrea gigantea	Mudanmu
Porco		Cervulus porcinulus	Zhuzai
Porco do matto			Tiaozhu
Preguiça		Bradypus tridactylus	Aihou
Rato de algodão		Sciurotamys pyrrhinognathus	Huoshu
Rapé-pinsáo		Mus rattus	Tianshu
Tamanduá-bandeira		Myrmecophaga jubata	Dahou
Tamanduá-mirim		Cyclopes didactylus	Xiaohou
Tatú-bola	Armadillo	Tolypeutes tricinctus	Huanqiu
Tatú-canastra		Priodontes gigas	Huaiyou
Tatú-mansão			Baoqiu
Tatú-fan			Aiyou
Tatú-11-cinto			Aiqiu
Veado campeiro (a)	Deer		Yaolu
Veado campeiro (b)	do.		Yaolu
Veado mateiro		Mazama rufa	Kuailu

* Other may be substituted as the case.

[p.125]

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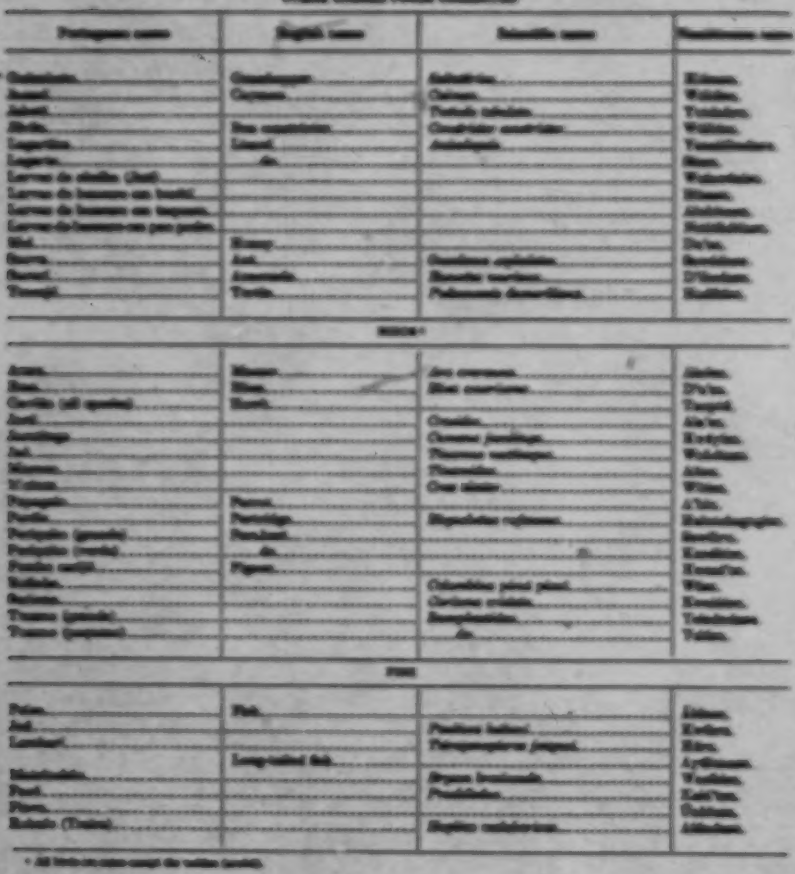

[p. 124]

T: Roquette-Pinto--5 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

165 It seemed to me that these people get their full set of teeth much earlier.

Those molars which are popularly called wisdom teeth, and which are tending to disappear in the white race, are no mere ornaments among the Indians. They are endowed with significant size and function.

264 145 I believe that the excessive amount of work required of their digestive system is reflected in these dental characteristics. The large molars appear earlier because they are needed for frequent and powerful mastication.

● 262 They always eat of everything, without discrimination or restraint. To my knowledge, there is no animal they will not eat. They discard only the intestinal tract of the game they kill.

[192] The Indians of the Juruena River consume more meat than the others; those from José Bonifácio eat more manioc and maize. Their [514] intestinal gas makes their company unpleasant. They all have furred 164 tongues, and many have gums affected by alveolar pierrhea. Their teeth, contrary to frequent cases among the Sambaqui skulls, do not suffer from the state of wear which Lund described in 1842 for Lagoa Santa man; but they suffer from caries which do not spare the crowns.

A special skin disease prevails among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. (1)

[513]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, Lectures at the Biblioteca Nacional [National Library] on March 15, 1913, and at the Sociedade Brasileira de Dermatologia, Policlinica Geral do Rio de Janeiro [Brazilian Dermatological Society, Main Polyclinic of Rio de Janeiro], on June 11, 1912.

[181] Actually, some officials of the Rondon Commission had noticed the characteristic scabs of the disease. Owing perhaps to a lack of typical cases such as I witnessed, however, they took the spots [513] to be mere skin exfoliations caused by the friction of the body on the ground, where the Serra do Norte Indians sleep.

The external layers cover the whole building, like very precise and well clipped sheets of straw. The side walls are not distinct from the roof, but mere extensions of it.

Of the two houses we have described, in the village close to the Caruni (or Festa da Bandeira) River, the larger covers 30 meters in circumference, the other 28. Their doorways measure 0.37 meters in width by 0.52 meters in height. These two houses stand on a plaza some twenty meters in diameter.

Inside the huts stand three bamboo grids [giraus] to dry manioc scrapings, and two enormous black pots which could not have come through the door; lighter utensils and various other implements, as well as ornaments, are kept in the ceiling thatch. This serves as the Indians' closet, where they hide their smaller belongings. [Fig. 24]

A small fire burns underneath each grid.

These grids were made up of four bamboo stalks sunk into the ground and supporting a horizontal grate of small bamboo reeds. They measured about two meters in length by one and a half in width.

The huts are not equipped with any smoke holes, and none are needed. The smoke of inside fires filters easily through the interstices of the thatch.

Around the dwelling, scattered or in heaps, lie disjointed bones, fragmented cocoanuts, pods of the jacobá bean, corn cobs, charcoal, and food refuse, mixed with worn-out tools and utensils.

In the village on the Festa da Bandeira River, I found beside a house a large object which I only failed to bring back because it would have been absolutely impossible to transport it. It was of a kind commonly found in the sambaquis [2124] of the Atlantic coast: a rock pitted with several depressions large enough to hold a fingertip. To one side lay a prodigious quantity of small bacaba nuts, both shelled and unshelled. It has often been inferred that this implement was used to produce fires, but in the Serra do Norte it merely serves to shell palm nuts. This stone, however, was much larger than those generally encountered in the sambaquis.

The temporary shelter consists of a screen of leaves and branches. The Indians may use it for a few days if hunting in the area is good; then they abandon it.

[Fig. 18]

[241] They subsist chiefly on the produce of husbandry; the development of agriculture in their backward milieu [229] constitutes one of the paradoxical traits of this tribe.

[242] As a general rule, it may be said that the Nambicuara eat of everything; unlike some other Indians, they do not shun certain species of animals. A mosquito that lands on their body, a louse, a locust, a small lizard that scampers by--nothing is spared.

[250] Some of them carry sticks to kill any snakes they may encounter; they roast them in the embers and eat the delicacy with pleasure.

After roasting their catch, they discard only the stomach.

At the camp on the Primavera River, whenever one of them was hungry he would run off into the bush and return with a live calango [a small lizard]; after beating the head of the little animal against a piece of wood [230] he would throw it into the hot ashes. Later he would tear open the animal's abdomen with his nails, remove the stomach and enjoy the rest. On another occasion, the Indians caught an armadillo and killed it by twisting its neck.

In hunting and fishing they use arrows that will be described later.

252 They prepare the eggs of the wild duck (Cairina moschata,
242 L.) by nestling them in shallow depressions in the embers after
[243] turning them on a diminutive spit stuck through a small hole punched in the shell.

The meat of large game--deer, paca (Coelogenis paca), [225] capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara)--is utilized only after it has been pounded in a mortar or beaten between two pieces of wood.

[Fig. 19]

264 They cut off large pieces with their nails, with their teeth, and sometimes with knives of wood or bamboo. No sooner have they gulped down what is in their mouth than they suck their fingers, cluc[illegible] their tongue noisily.

251 The Tagnani are familiar with the preserving properties of smoke; the meat we handed out to them was not all eaten on the same day. They hung the remnants on the barbecue [moquém].

252 The Cocozu do not use a barbecue; they roast their meat in the embers. The quantity of ashes they swallow with the roast is considerable.

[Plates p. 230.]

[231] The Tagnani and Tawite build a characteristic type of barbecue. They set up four stakes which they connect with four crosspieces; between these they place two sticks to hold the pieces of meat.

[Fig. 23]

[272] They drink honey mixed with water (hydromel). They like 262 young bees, which they eat with the honey and wax.

They do not allow the maize to ripen, but eat it roasted when still green. Manioc is subjected to the same process, or it is used in 252 grated form to make cakes [beiju].

They press the gratings with embira cord and prepare very white pellets with the starch. To make the cakes, they open a cavity in the hot ashes of the fire and deposit in it a pellet of manioc dough which they smooth out with some piece of wood and with their hands. Then they cover it with ashes and embers; after a period of time which we do not know how they estimate, they uncover a large, roasted, sweet-smelling cake, somewhat sour, but which would be rather pleasant if it were not so covered with ashes and if it had not been prepared by such an unclean process...

[262 271] Green mangaba, (1) no sooner seen, is immediately plucked

1. Fruit of the mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa). (Ed.)

and placed in the embers. When roasted, it turns tender and pleasing to the taste.

From bacaba palm nuts the Tawite make a purplish mush [262] (uidniaré) which tastes like green leaves and which they relish. In order to prepare this uid-niaré, they pound the fruit of the palm and place it in water over the fire. This is actually a decoction.

273 We did not have an opportunity to observe the preparation of any fermented liquids. Yet the Indians make alcoholic beverages by

273 the usual process: they masticate manioc or maize and allow the mush to ferment in large pots. One drink thus extracted from the wild pineapple was held in high regard by the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

[262] 226 They are especially fond of monkey meat--a last vestige, perhaps, of their former cannibalistic tastes.

I do not think that cannibalism still exists among them. But I believe that it has not been long since the habit was lost.

It is true, nevertheless, that they often accuse one another of this practice; they make such accusations in a perfectly clear manner, by means of unequivocal signs.

272 [233] They make fire by rubbing together two rods similar to those found elsewhere in Brazil.

This procedure takes much longer than might be expected.

The Indian begins by placing a dry leaf upon the ground; upon it he rests the "stationary fire stick," which he supports with his foot and knee.

[Fig. 26]

Holding the "movable fire stick" between the palms of his hands, he imparts to it the necessary rotary motion, bearing down with it at the same time against the other stick. This motion forces the hands downward along the rod; [when he gets to the bottom], the Indian starts again from the top. Now and then he stops briefly to lick his palm, which smarts from the friction. After a while, when sweat is already beading his forehead, a spark strikes up among the tinder which has been deposited on the leaf.

This process differs from the classical technique only by the presence of the protective leaf.

Because this procedure is laborious, the Indians carry it out with reluctance. Desirous of obtaining a film which would document all their routine activities, I had great difficulty in persuading an Indian to make fire. This is the reason why, of all gifts, matches are among those valued most highly; to make fire after their fashion on a rainy day or in humid weather is a hard and laborious task.

[262 274 194] The Tagnani and Tawite also eat a certain kind of mushroom (Polyporus sp.) which the others disregard.

[274] It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

273 Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful [271] to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green [272] are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit [269] eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

263 The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

262 Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anuncçú!"

261 One must know the Indians' gluttony, their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

262 The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what 265 goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

276 Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared 255 with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

[13]

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os Indios do Brazil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

264 The children partake of a meal immediately; the women eat later... whatever is left over, if there is a leftover. This, by the way, is the rule even among civilized Indians... But in general, if there is plenty, each helps himself to whatever there is, when he wishes and as he wishes; the food belongs to all.

262 [236] They skillfully remove the gall bladder from the liver of the animals they devour, but they do not have a special name for it.

[252] Aarú is a cake which the Cocozu prepare by pounding up a whole roasted armadillo in a mortar until its bones are completely mashed, and then mixing it with manioc dough in the form of beiju.

[325] An upland rat (Scapteromys gnambiquarae, Miranda Ribeiro), which the Paresi call cólori, is prized by the Nambicuara as a delicacy. They call it arantaçú.

244 They gather and utilize the produce of their husbandry from day to day. They have no special harvesting time, and no stores or surpluses except for the tobacco which they keep between two sticks hanging from the ceiling thatch.

251 There is always manioc dough in the house; it is the Nambicuara bread, which they eat with all their other foods. They keep the dough in large baskets lined with pacova (1) leaves.

1. A kind of banana. (Ed.)

[237] Leftover honey is kept in the gourd; it does not reach fermentation because the desire [to drink it] soon revives in some Indian...

261 [115] We did not see any rite connected with food; but the soldier Gouveia, who was held prisoner in a Nambicuara village for six months in 1911, witnessed such a ceremony. The Indians of that village (which was named Urutau) had killed a large tapir. (1) This was

[328]

1. Tapirus americanus, fairly abundant along the rivers of the area. Hard to catch because very wary.

[the pretext for] a feast. They dragged the animal to the village plaze. Then the men went off into the bush to gather branches with

226 Tephrosia toxicaria is a poisonous legume, a kind of tingui
[Lupinus coccavella] used in fishing.

278 They are not familiar with the fishhook, and use [276: full page of figures] [277] a sort of fish trap made with bamboo or with the stem of the tinara liana (Desmoncus sp.).

252 The following foodstuffs are represented in the collection.

--Guaiatú: white maize.

--Urinodzu: manioc dough, which under microscopic examination proved to be very rich in starch grain. The root, once grated, is pressed [by wringing] with a straw cord, the çaaru. (1) The grater

[426]

1. [Heloisa Alberto Torres notes that the cylindrical tube used to press manioc by some Amazonian tribes must have spread from the Guianas to the valley of the Amazon. Métraux considers the woven band used for the same purpose and found on the periphery of the tube territory a more primitive form. The simple straw cord of the Nambicuara would thus constitute an even more primitive variant.]

is of the type used by the Xingu Indians (Suya, etc.). It consists of a board with about two [twenty?] rows of small sticks.

[Fig. 17]

252 --The larvae of a butterfly, which they eat alive.

--Katunuzú: anthill clay, which they also eat.

. . . . . .

[629] --A mushroom, orelha de pau (Polyporus sp.), which is eaten, and beans (Phaseolus sp.) of unusual aspect were also found in one village. [278] The smoked [moqueada] head of a great anteater was [251] found in a basket by Miranda Ribeiro during the 1909 expedition.

415 Mortars (nutêzê) are hollowed out by means of fire and used to
252 pound meat and other foods.

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A. Arezi mushroom (Poliporus sp.) eaten by the Serra do Norte Indians.

B. Cord of monkey hair (Pithecia satanas).

C. Necklace made with minute shreds of feather stems.

D. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

/218 cont./

224 The poisoned arrows are intended for hunting certain ani-
278 mals, some large birds, cervids, and especially monkeys.
911
[243] Birds wounded by one of these arrows fall almost immediate-
ly.

A monkey mortally wounded with an ordinary arrow or even a bullet often remains hanging from the branches. Under the action of curare it holds itself immobile at first, then begins to tremble and falls several minutes later (five to 10 at the most) as soon as paralysis is produced.

A peccary or small deer such as the Cervus campestris wounded in the body runs for one or two minutes, then stops exhausted, is attacked by tremors and lies down.

The tapir, very large, resists a long time; it can run for two hours before stopping; hence the Indians do not hunt it with curare.

[243] /217/ The meat of animals killed with curare may be
255 eaten without harm; the Ñambikwara of the Juruena content themselves with cutting away the flesh around the wound impregnated with poison and colored yellow; the Çabanè do not even take this precaution.

279 Poisoned arrows are also used for war; this is perhaps their
911 principal object among many Ñambikwara groups, who possess
726 only a very few specimens during normal times.

None of the Indians know of an efficacious antidote. According to our informants wounds in the trunk would always be fatal to men. By immediately drawing out the arrow, it might be possible to survive a wound in a limb; in order to make their extraction more difficult, the points of the poisoned arrows, especially those of the Çabanè, are very lightly attached to their shafts.